557 /83 cont./ A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment. His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle, his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
[585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group. More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

● 584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution; they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this, a certain marriage policy is apparent.

557 In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
581 tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists
612 the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand, there is the striving to establish relations with members of other groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher. A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time, /84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first-mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend, rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

557 /84 cont./ The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can
612 be made.

1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived at 18, not counting the marriages of his own children.
565

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
[554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

554 3. From this example it appears further that the general notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
602 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent
582 man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

554 Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
578 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
602

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
● 584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia)
● means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
558 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
626 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

584 /151 cont./ But an atmosphere of intimacy is created precisely because it is forbidden and dangerous. The desire to get married seems to be strengthened by it.

584 The examples described are a number of ways in which young people try to bring about a marriage with a marriage partner chosen by themselves by means of forbidden contacts.

Personality Norms

157 Norms for the personality of men are different from 562 those for women.

A man must be combative and courageous, always ready to challenge someone or to answer a challenge. He must be skillful in debate and a good teller of tall tales. In these stories the emphasis must always be placed on the fact that he, his group, or his prince, did something better than another group or a neighboring prince. In these stories he must also have great success with women and be capable of great sexual achievements. One likes to compare a man to a cock, proud and always ready to do battle. A man is sometimes conceived of as rough. He is always wandering.

562 Man is devoted to woman; he praises her in vague, idealizing terms.

539 157

Nampa' ri udjung Borinu,	When I had come to the farthest point of your land,
riappa pa'rasangannu	to the remotest point of your land,
nanailalang	then my soul was already in you,
sumangakku, makkaraëng	worshipping you.

157 /152/ The woman must be delicate and tender, shy 562 and withdrawn. She is more devoted to herself. She tries, but as passively as possible, to draw his attention to herself.

589 /163 cont./ Today, just as fifteen to twenty years ago, a comparatively large number of men and women remain unmarried. The above-mentioned reasons may be of influence upon the number of those who remain unmarried during a certain period of time and in a certain group. An explanation of the same phenomenon during this period in the lower classes must be attempted separately.

581 Marriage seemed to be one of the most important events in the related group. The older people who bring about the marriages unconsciously apply a criterion of selection in the choice of those they are bringing together in marriage. The young man of whom they expect that he will contribute to the standing of their group has preference. This must be someone, therefore, who is always prepared to outdo others /164/ and to guard against the impairment of his own standing. Outdoing
156 other men and the conquest of women are two matters which in
584 the Makassarese conception go together in a man. The young men who possess these qualities to a strong degree frequently take the initiative toward marriage themselves, however limited the opportunities for this may be. Furthermore, there is a large number of men who do not get to take the initiative and begin to refuse when their marriage is announced to them, but who in the end let themselves be persuaded. There are those who externally let themselves be persuaded but who continue to refuse sexual union and in so doing cause the marriage to fail (1).

1. See below, pp. 273ff.

156 Finally, there are a number of men who refuse to marry
589 and upon whom the parents exert little further pressure. These are the ones of whom it is believed that they would contribute little to the standing of the related group. Their fear of being inadequate in sexual relations with their wife, just as they are

156 /164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

/176 cont./

Elements of the Wedding Ritual

The Announcement

584 The announcement to a young girl that she is to marry is made with great care. An older woman is enlisted for this purpose, /177/ one who herself has many children and who has done well in this world. For instance, the wife of a kapala or someone who has higher blood coupled with personal standing. The parents hope that some of their luck (pitjuru) will be imparted to their child. The girl is taken to the woman and is addressed quietly and in a friendly manner with a few, well-chosen words. "We intend to make you a complete person" (nipadjari tau); "we want to make you into one single whole" (nipakalepu).

When her marriage is announced to her, a girl always cries. A somewhat simple type who remained seated quietly was even incited to do so: "Cry, child, otherwise people will laugh at you" (ngarruko 'ndi, nakakaliko sallang taua). Not to cry is regarded as a sign that she longs for a man.

A girl who has heard that she must marry generally draws the sarong over her head and sobbingly lies down in a dark corner of the house. She refuses all food and remains there until she is taken up by her female relatives in order to undergo a certain ritual. At that time she keeps herself as passive as possible and thereby shows that the idea of having to marry makes her very unhappy.

It is also expected of a young man that he will be sad when he hears that he must marry. Eh, tene'na, "What, is he glad," (that he is going to marry), was the disapproving reaction of an old woman when the boy remained completely quiet. The kinsmen repeatedly make remarks to him designed to put him in a sad mood. "Think of your mother." "Now you probably will no longer think of us. Now you will only call your wife's kinsmen your kin group."

177 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white
585 carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the headdress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

● 584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

554 A request by the religious official or by someone with
565 karaëng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can
584 be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

833 /201 cont./ thus causes the entire purpose of the marriage to run awry. In such cases it is said of the man that he refuses sexual contact with his wife (tena naero' ri bainenna; literally, "he does not want his wife"); such a refusal may just as well emanate from the wife.

Sometimes it is clear that someone does not desire con- [584] tact with his spouse because he himself has made another choice and now still wants to force his kinsmen to permit him to marry her (1). In other cases a bride or bridegroom declares

[586]

1. In a case which took place in Macassar in which a young man refused sexual intercourse with his wife because he had his mind set upon another girl, the marriage was dissolved after more than three years. At that time his father consented to his disposing of his wife. Shortly

[587]

thereafter he had to marry a second wife, just as little by his own choice as the first one. He led a normal married life with this second wife. She presented him with two children and died a few years afterwards. Only then did he marry the woman whom he had chosen eight years earlier.

that the appearance of the marriage partner does not please him (or her). But in still other cases, not a single reason can be detected.

Sometimes it is believed in such cases that the individual who refuses has been affected by a spell emanating from

582 /205 cont./ widower, where the widow and widower had remarried and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, [601 593] genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as [565] unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Borongloë. In these circles greater

/226 cont./
Extramarital Pregnancy

848 Pregnancy is naturally a reason for flight for an unmarried woman. For the first few months the male relatives need not notice anything so she can safely remain at home. Her mother or sister is sometimes taken into her confidence, but both will always deny this. If, under these circumstances, a woman does not suceed in persuading the father of her child to flee and marry her, she finally flees by herself and names [588] him to the religious official concerned. Summoned by the imam, the majority of men confess. Thereupon the marriage is carried out, and the couple is henceforth simply regarded and treated as tumannjala.

A man who continues to deny being the father of the child is taken to the Kali of Goa. If he maintains his denial [695] there, he receives the opportunity to swear solemnly in the great mosque of Goa that he did not make this woman pregnant. Once he has performed this oath, he is free. In reality, however, he is still in danger. He will do well not to enter the kampong where the woman used to live. The general opinion is that a woman does not lie under such circumstances. A man who denies being the father of her child, even though [627] he has fortified his denial by an oath, must always take care that one of her /227/ kinsmen will not try to kill him all the same. Only when she has subsequently married another man is he safe.

584 After the man has made his oath, the woman remains
588 in the imam's house until someone comes who wants to marry
848 her. This usually happens after a few days. First an emissary from this man has a talk with the imam, who then conveys the marriage request to the woman. If she is not yet acquainted with her marriage partner-to-be, she is given an opportunity to see him, and she can then decide for herself. If she remains seated silently with bowed head, this is tantamount to her consent. But her expression "tea'" (I don't want to) is accepted. A woman who refuses several candidates one after another will at most be told that she is making

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother
848 being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and the iddat period is past. Children born outside wedlock are, therefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die soon. Only once a girl of about eight years of age was pointed out to me in Borongloë as a child who had never had a father. Figures concerning this matter
[163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by
568 another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").
672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.
684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/
[848] happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

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[282 cont.]

Young people get acquainted in various ways. Activities in the rice fields often present occasions for getting acquainted, especially where such work is done with mutual assistance, as on Java during the rice harvest. The rice harvest, where men and women, old and young, participate in festive attire, gives young men and girls the finest opportunity for establishing tender relationships and marriages are never more frequent than during the first weeks of harvest time (4). The Alfoer of the Minahasa

4. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 525.

practice this mutual assistance and call it mapulus. Most acquaintance are made through this, and most engagements follow a mapulus. This is also the case among other peoples, e.g., the Ambonese (5), the Makassarese (6), etc.

5. Tijdschrift Ned. Aardr. Gen.
Vol. I, p. 243, note.

6. Ind. Gids, 1881, Vol. II, p. 829.

RL I 883 584 291

Among other peoples there are gatherings where boys and girls meet and have [283] the opportunity to become acquainted with one another. Here, I want to mention the Lampong specifically. Boys and girls often meet at night to chat or to pass the time in some other way. In general this is usually called manjara, which probably means the same as the Malayan měnjahut = to answer. The favorite pastime on this occasion is to make compliments in veiled terms, or recite pantuns, serambah in Lampong, in a singing tone drawn out as required. They must then be answered by the girl. I need not say that most love affairs start on these occasions. (I remind the reader of the regulation that on these occasions the boys must appear with the upper body bare, which I mentioned earlier concerning clothing. The adat prohibits the use of a badju [baju]) (1). Also among the Batak the boys

I Bt 883

159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush the, are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

774 Saleh uses the word dewata for spirit in the animistic sense, and also understands the term sumangat.

000 Most of the day was spent in looking around. Tomorrow I will go through my notes for questions and further discussion.

871 Balombaru, September 2, 1949: This third day I thought
157 I would go through my notes, but I got sidetracked onto
326 Saleh's answers to the schedule. This is all right, al-
159 though the going is very slow. One thing is very dramatic. Saleh told me about his personal tragedy as far as education is concerned. He said that he wanted to go to normal school, but that the fee was f. 65. Neither he nor his father could afford this. They tried to sell portions of their rice fields, but times were bad then and there were no buyers. Saleh said that he then went to the teacher (I gather it was the superintendent) of the normal school and asked why he must pay f. 65. The answer was that that was the price of board and room. At this Saleh offered to bring a mat and sleep on the floor and to get his own food. However, the superintendent said no. As Saleh told me the story, much affect could be noted. And he added that plenty of other boys have had the same trouble. He is truly an ambitious man and would have justified any help given him. He said that he had trained lots of young goldsmiths and that they were now scattered all over. He said that he had trained so many that often one found villages around here where there were formerly no goldsmiths at all and which now consisted of a good number of goldsmiths.

[535] One thing before the schedule: I talked about the dancing
● 584 girls. They told me that the Makassarese are very strict
834 regarding all girls. One might not approach a girl directly but only through relatives and always in a respectable fashion. In regard to the go-between in marriage, they said that many of the girls in school today are scorning the old practice. However, an old man, cackling, said that the padjoge in the Buginese country were different. He said

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him. 584 834

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans. 125

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's. 565 558 567

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell plenty in order to send him to school. 855

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 567 558 166 152 000

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times
they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes. i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead-pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the simple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face toward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in festive or full attire this night. 535 181 152 832 292

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Mohammedan teacher, and the old fellow to work with. 124

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living children per woman was three, but that the average number of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average number who die to each woman is two. They say there has been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not much if any difference according to class. This I do notice, that there are plenty of children in all classes. 163

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex] (and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary people hit their children if necessary. 861 828

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or someone else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional pair coming from school together, but this is carried out for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the 562 584 883 181

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
584 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
883 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army
181 post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with [565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only